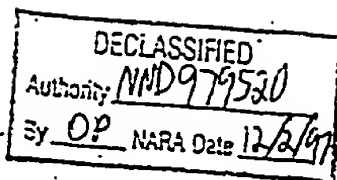


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FM THE WHITE HOUSE//WASH122//

TO AMBASSADOR BUSH USLO PEKING

T O P S E C R E T SENSITIVE EYES ONLY VIA VOYAGER CHANNELS HK52474

WASH122

TO: AMBASSADOR BUSH
FROM: SECRETARY KISSINGER

REF: PEKING 115

1. YOU ARE TO REQUEST A MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER
CHIAO ASAP AND CONVEY TO HIM THE MESSAGE WHICH FOLLOWS:

2. THE U.S. SIDE HAS GIVEN FULL CONSIDERATION TO THE
CHINESE SIDE'S RESPONSE OF OCTOBER 31 TO OUR PROPOSAL
FOR A JOINT PRESS STATEMENT. THE U.S. SIDE HARBORS NO
ILLUSIONS ABOUT THE DIFFERENCES WHICH REMAIN BETWEEN US.
AT THE SAME TIME, WE REITERATE OUR VIEW THAT IF THE
U.S. IS TO BE IN A POSITION TO TAKE STRONG ACTIONS ON
INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS WHICH ARE OF COMMON CONCERN,
OR MAKE FURTHER PROGRESS--WHICH WE HAVE SAID WE
INTEND TO DO--ON OUR REMAINING BILATERAL DIFFERENCES,
THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT AND ANY DOCUMENT TO BE MADE
PUBLIC AT ITS CONCLUSION SHOULD HELP BUILD THE BASIS
AMONG THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FOR A CONSTRUCTIVE RELATION-
SHIP WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

3. THE U.S. SIDE HAS FURTHER CONSIDERED THE DRAFT
COMMUNIQUE PUT FORWARD BY THE CHINESE SIDE ON THE
NIGHT OF OCTOBER 22-23. WE CONTINUE TO CONSIDER IT
UNACCEPTABLE AS A BASIS FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION FROM
THE ABOVE PERSPECTIVE AS WELL AS FOR ALL THE REASONS
WHICH SECRETARY KISSINGER DISCUSSED WITH THE

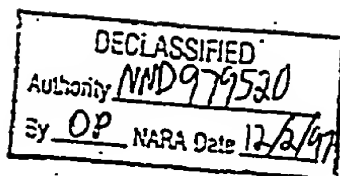
***** WHSR COMMENT *****

MCFARLANE, RODMAN

RECALLED

TOP SECRET 177

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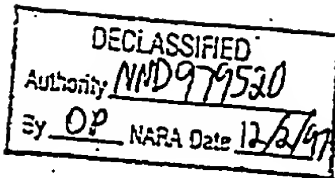
FOREIGN MINISTER.

4. FOR THESE REASONS, THE U.S. SIDE AGAIN STATES ITS BELIEF THAT IT IS IN THE INTEREST OF NEITHER SIDE TO CONCLUDE THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT WITH A PUBLIC STATEMENT WHICH HIGHLIGHTS OUR DIFFERENCES WITHOUT ALSO INCLUDING SOME BALANCE OF COMMON POINTS AND SHARED OBJECTIVES WHICH WILL INDICATE THE INTENTION OF THE TWO SIDES TO BUILD A DURABLE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP.

5. WE CANNOT ACCEPT THE CHINESE VIEW THAT THE U.S. DRAFT PRESS STATEMENT IS A REFURBISHED VERSION OF THE DRAFT COMMUNIQUE SUBMITTED BY THE U.S. SIDE ON OCTOBER 20, SINCE WE MADE A MAJOR EFFORT TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF CHINESE VIEWS, INCLUDING ACCEPTANCE VERBATIM OF ALL THE POSITIVE PARAGRAPHS IN THE CHINESE DRAFT COMMUNIQUE HANDED US ON OCTOBER 22. HOWEVER, IF THE CHINESE SIDE WANTS TO ADD SOME PARAGRAPHS, WE ARE PREPARED TO CONSIDER THEM. AS THE U.S. SIDE HAS ALREADY PUT FORWARD ITS IDEAS FOR A JOINT PRESS STATEMENT, WE REQUEST THAT THE CHINESE SIDE NOW PUT FORWARD ITS IDEAS REGARDING SUCH A PRESS STATEMENT, OR SUGGEST THE KINDS OF CHANGES IN THE U.S. DRAFT WHICH WOULD MAKE IT A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE DOCUMENT. WE WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIPT OF SUCH A DRAFT OR SUGGESTIONS FOR CHANGES IN THE U.S. DRAFT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AS THIS WILL PERMIT FURTHER EXCHANGES OF VIEW BEFORE THE PRESIDENT'S ARRIVAL.

6. THE U.S. SIDE ADDS THAT IT IS PREPARED TO ACCEPT A WHOLLY NON-SUBSTANTIVE PRESS STATEMENT WHICH WOULD BE MERELY DESCRIPTIVE OF THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT. IT IS OUR CONSIDERED JUDGMENT, HOWEVER, THAT SUCH A STATEMENT WOULD BE INTERPRETED IN MANY QUARTERS AS BEING INDICATIVE OF A MAJOR CRISIS IN OUR RELATIONS. THE PUBLIC ACCOUNTS OF THE SECRETARY'S RECENT VISIT INDICATE THE LIKELIHOOD OF CREATING SUCH AN IMPRESSION. WE HAVE NO REASON TO FEAR THE CONSEQUENCES OF SUCH SPECULATION, BUT THE CHINESE SIDE SHOULD CONSIDER WHETHER THIS WILL SERVE THE OBJECTIVES BOTH SIDES SEEK TO ATTAIN IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA IN THE NORMALIZATION PROCESS. THEREFORE, THE U.S. SIDE WILL WELCOME SUGGESTIONS FROM THE CHINESE SIDE ON A JOINT PRESS STATEMENT.

7. WITH REGARD TO ANNOUNCING THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT,



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WE PROPOSE THAT A PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT BE MADE IN BOTH CAPITALS ON TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 4, AT NOON WASHINGTON TIME. WE WOULD PLAN TO USE THE SAME LANGUAGE PUT FORWARD BY THE CHINESE SIDE DURING THE SECRETARY'S FINAL DISCUSSION SESSION WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER EXCEPT FOR CHANGING THE DATE OF DEPARTURE FROM DECEMBER 6 TO DECEMBER 5.

8. YOU SHOULD FINALLY SAY TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER THAT GIVEN THE BRIEF TIME WHICH REMAINS FOR TECHNICAL PLANNING FOR THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT, WE OBVIOUSLY WOULD LIKE TO PROCEED WITH ADVANCE ARRANGEMENTS AS SOON AS IS CONVENIENT FOR THE CHINESE SIDE. YOU SHOULD ASK CHIAO HON SOON THE CHINESE SIDE WOULD BE PREPARED TO RECEIVE AN ADVANCE PARTY OF APPROXIMATELY 40 PEOPLE, WHICH WOULD ARRIVE BY GOVERNMENT AIRCRAFT FROM TOKYO. YOU SHOULD INDICATE THAT FROM OUR PERSPECTIVE WE ARE PREPARED TO HAVE THE ADVANCE TEAM ARRIVE AS EARLY AS NOVEMBER 6. IN DISCUSSING THIS POINT YOU SHOULD COUCH THE TONE OF YOUR REMARKS SO AS NOT TO MAKE THE CHINESE FEEL WE ARE IMPOSING ON THEM AN UNACCEPTABLY EARLY ARRIVAL TIME FOR THE ADVANCE PARTY.

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